DUPLICATE

Christianity and Society

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AUTUMN 1951 40 CENTS

Volume 16 AUTUMN 1951 Number 4

CHRISTIANITY AND SOCIETY

A Quarterly devoted to Christianity and Social Reconstruction

Published by the FRONTIER FELLOWSHIP: Christians for Social Reconstruction (Formerly the Fellowship of Socialist Christians)

TRANSITION

This is the last issue of this quarterly under the auspices of the Frontier Fellowship; henceforth it will be published by the newly-organized Christian Action. The outlook and concerns which have been central to the Frontier Fellowship and to this journal are at the heart of Christian Action. It is intended that the ideas and work of the Fellowship will have wider scope and increased effectiveness in the new organization, to which members of the Fellowship have contributed so much.

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Subscription Rate: $1.50 per year; 40c per copy
6 Shillings per year in England
7 Shillings and Six Pence in Australia
Published Quarterly

Mrs. Nola Meade, Secretary, 3041 Broadway, N. Y. C. 27
English Agent: Davis McCaughey, Annandale, North End Road, London N.W. 11

CHRISTIANITY AND SOCIETY

VOLUME 16 NUMBER 4

EDITORIALS

The Japanese Peace Treaty

The Japanese peace treaty has been widely hailed as a treaty of "reconciliation". While some of our critics insinuate that we are making rather too much of the alleged generosity of the treaty, it is worth recording that, after a devastating war and a long occupation, there is remarkably good feeling between the victorious and the vanguished nation. This is the more remarkable on our side, since there was some rather ugly anti-Japanese feeling in this country before the war.

On the Japanese side we ought to take the assurances of our leaders about Japan's complete devotion to our cause with a grain of salt. The Japanese, like most of the European nations, are grateful that we will protect them against communist aggression on the one hand. But on the other hand they would like very much to bow out of the east-west struggle if they could. They do not relish becoming a military base for us. Christian opinion in Japan seems to be particularly offended by the fact that the promised military treaty, which is to follow upon the peace treaty, will make nonsense of the pacifist clause in the Japanese constitution. They seem to have taken that clause, in which Japan foolishly promised never again to resort to arms, seriously. They ought rather to have regarded it as a symbol of the vainglory of victors. We suggested that clause to the Japanese nation. In fact it bears the marks of General MacArthur's logic. For MacArthur likes to talk grandiloquently of the abolition of war, even while he proposes immediate measures in which every moral and political factor is subordinated to military strategy.

In any event we were foolish enough to suggest to the Japanese that the way to get rid of militarism was to get rid of the military. This is analogous to the communist proposal that the way to get rid of greed is simply to abolish property; and to the idealistic notion that the way to get rid of international rivalry is to abolish nations. If the conquest of evil were only that simple. Evil is unfortunately never merely the product of a particular function or institution; but rather the consequence of an inordinate devotion to a particular value or of a disproportionate development of a particular function.

Actually Japan, like Germany, will not find it easy to provide for its own defense without unduly encouraging old military castes who are inimical to democracy. One could wish that both nations could dispense with military force until their democratic order had achieved a firmer footing. Furthermore the fear of Japanese militarism is as potent a communist propaganda weapon in Asia as the fear of German militarism is in Europe. One could hope therefore that our political leaders would be more inclined to resist the pressure of the military for Japanese and German divi-

sions. Here moral and political considerations ought to weigh heavier than they seem to in the balance with military strategy.

Nevertheless neither Japan nor Germany can finally be defended by American soldiers. This means that they must furnish a full portion of the pool for the common defense of the non-communist world. The hope in Japan, as in Germany, for a possible position of neutrality is understandable, but it is also unrealistic. A position of neutrality may be taken by strong nations, but not by weak ones. Weak nations, with few exceptions, such as Switzerland, easily become a power vacuum into which the power of the one side or the other will flow. We can therefore not accommodate the Japanese hopes of neutrality, even as we can not save the article in the constitution which we forced upon them. We might blush over the ironic refutation of the pretensions which prompted the pacifist clause in the constitution. We would also do well to understand, why the Japanese are not such wholehearted allies of ours as we pretend they are. But this does not change the fact that we must remain allies on every level of international life.

Religious Politics

All of us who disagree with the tenets of American economic conservatism probably find the religious version of this conservatism particularly noxious. American economic conservatism is obviously a decayed form of liberalism. It insists that the principles of classical economic liberalism are eternally valid norms of economic organization; and that the concept of *laissez faire* is a kind of ultimate law of life. The religious version of this doctrine adds no new insights to it and makes no discriminate judgments about it. It merely invests the ideology of the business community with religious sanctity. The "hidden hand" which, according to the thought of Adam Smith, guarantees that competitive self-seeking will work for the common good is explicitly defined as the providence of God. The highly dubious "economic laws" of classical liberalism are spoken of as "the laws of God" in comparison with which all socalled "laws of men" are impious and mistaken. Every effort of a modern democratic community to establish justice and to prevent economic power from becoming inordinate or irresponsible is defined as "statism". This "statism" is regarded as particularly unchristian because it allegedly substitutes the worship of the state for the worship of God.

The net effect of this religious conservatism, expounded for instance by James Fifield, Norman Vincent Peale and "Christian Economics" is to make political judgments, already too indiscriminate, even more so. The religious aura is consciously or unconsciously used to hide the taint of self-interest in the political dogma. None of these Christian prophets help men to realize why economically powerful men are inclined to minimize the perils of economic power and to exaggerate those of political power. Religion becomes merely a screen for, rather than a dissolvant of the "ideological" taint of self-interest which corrupts the existential judgments of all men.

Those of us who stand on the political left are particularly conscious of the dishonesties of this kind of religious politics. We can see very clearly why religion is so frequently an added source of confusion in politics rather than a source of wisdom and charity. But if we are not too strongly influenced by party spirit we will draw more radical conclusions from the phenomenon of religiously inspired political conservatism than are usually drawn. The fact is that a simple identification of religious and political convictions, whether on the right or the left, is noxious. The evils of religious politics of any shade are due to the fact that religion deals with life's ultimate ends and meanings, while politics must inevitably strive for proximate ends of life and must use ambiguous means to attain them. Therefore it is dangerous to claim the sanctity of the ultimate for political ends and means. It may be very important to win a particular election; but no conflict between political parties is ever a clear

contest between right and wrong. Some contests, as for instance the struggle against tyranny, may be quite unequivocal in moral meaning. But generally the moral ambiguity in political struggles is very considerable. Therefore it is inadmissable to equate our political judgments of friends, competitors and foes with the final judgment of God upon all human striving.

We on the political left are persuaded that our efforts are characterized by a more genuine passion for justice than the conservatives reveal. A political program may be judged by the degree of rationalization of interest which it contains on the one and of genuine passion for justice on the other.

This does not mean that a Christian judgment need be completely disinterested. In political life it is usually necessary to choose between competing interests. It would hardly be realistic to expect a poor man to prefer the interests of a rich competitor to his own in order to prove his disinterestedness. There are many situations in which our own interests may coincide with the general interests of justice. This is always the case when those who have been defrauded or disinherited defend their interests against those who have defrauded them. This matter was put very simply by a saint of the Middle Ages in the words: "In a struggle between a rich man and a poor man, take the side of the poor man until you know which one is right".

This simple little word assumes that the cause of the poor is usually right; but the concluding reservation is important. The poor man may not be right. Communist politics is so devilish because it is a religious politics of the left. It is based upon the assumption that the poor are not only right in any particular dispute but that they are the bearers of absolute right in history. Through this claim they become the actual bearers of evil. Every approximation of this communist position on the left contains the same poison of religious fanaticism.

The fact that Christian piety can be used to rationalize and to defend special interests which do not deserve defense, disproves the naive belief of some Christians that a pious judgment is always a true one. On the other hand the fact that ostensibly non-religious forms can be used to create an idolatrous religion disproves the naive belief of modern secularists that it is possible to get rid of religion. The religious element is in all life situations because men are so created that they seek not merely immediate but also ultimate ends. They are also sinful enough to be inclined to believe that whatever they want is the ultimate end of life. The pious member of the National Manufacturers Association uses one form of self-deception to accomplish this purpose and the communist and fellow-traveller uses another.

Therefore the test of a creative relation between our religious life and our political action is a double one. On the one hand the question is whether the life of faith prompts us to participate responsibly in the struggle for greater justice. The other question is whether our faith prompts us to discriminate, rather than indiscriminate, partisanship. For true faith must generate discrimination. The worship of the true God, rather than the gods of our own image, must make us aware of the mixture of motives in our own striving and the residual truth in the position of the competitor or foe. The mark of "bad" religion is always fanaticism, whether on the right or the left. The mark of true religion is always a measure of charity and forgiveness in even the stoutest championship of the proximate ends of justice.

The New Venture

Elsewhere in this issue there is a full report of the new organization, devoted to Christian social action, with which this journal will be identified in the future. We say farewell to the "Frontier Fellowship" confident that the values of its life will be fully preserved and expanded in the new organization.

We hope the new organization will do more than consolidate and express common economic and political convictions. Naturally it will be a community of Christians who have a common concern for the extension of justice in our civilization. It will seek to stem the tide of religious conservatism which has gained new strength in recent years. It will also counter the errors and illusions of the pathetic band of fellow-travellers, whose devotion to the communist cause has brought a good deal of confusion into the counsels of the church. It will, in short, seek to build on the middle ground of genuine democracy.

But it is not enough for a Christian organization to do these immediate political tasks. We must be concerned with the quality and texture of the religious life of America. We must challenge not only political conservatism in the church but the kind of religious thinking which issues in such simple alliances between the business community and the church. America is the great bourgeois nation of modern history. Inevitably a dominant cultural force, such as the middle-class ideology in this nation, is bound to bend every other force to its purposes. For this reason the Christian faith is always in danger of becoming merely the spiritual handmaiden of the established social and economic powers.

The corruption of a religion by a culture is not corrected merely by making common cause with the secular critics of the culture. It must be corrected by restoring the purity and the force of the religious life.

We hope that the new organization will follow the example of similar movements in Europe and concern itself with every theological, social, political and liturgical problem through which the Christian church may come to a fuller consciousness of its unique mission in the world, of the hazards of becoming the salt that has lost its savour, of the opportunities of illuminating the perplexities of our time with the truth of the Gospel, of the necessity of incorporating something of the uniqueness of the Christian life in the church as a living community, and of the possibilities of relating a Christian ethic of love to the complex problems of justice in a technical society.

The American Power

The American nation is in a most hazardous position. It represents an accumulation and aggregation of economic and political power such as has never been known in human history. A considerable portion of the nation is hardly conscious of the degree of this power. But the outside world is very much aware of it. Furthermore it expresses its awareness by resentment. Let us admit that anti-American feeling is rising by leaps and bounds in both Europe and Asia.

Some of the animus against America is the inevitable reaction of those who are weak toward those who are strong; and of those whose lives are determined by fateful decisions toward those who make the fateful decisions. Some of the animus is due to mistakes in American policy. If we are to bear the resentments against us with any degree of patience we must be clear about both its justified and unjustified character.

The animus is justified insofar as no inordinate power is ever wielded justly. American power is inordinate. We may try to bring it into partial subordination to the common will of nations, as expressed in the United Nations for instance. But everyone knows that we will finally have our way if we are resolute enough. Our recent dealings with Franco are a case in point. The American navy wanted the Spanish naval bases; and the hierarchy of the Roman Catholic church wanted an alliance with Spain. These two converging, though disparate, political forces were sufficient to create a political policy which put us at odds with all the best opinion in Europe. We had our way, though not without feeding the flames of anti-American feelings.

We have no reason to be ashamed of our record in Japan. It is, in a sense a

quite unique record of reconciliation between victor and vanguished. Yet it is very difficult for a nation as powerful as we are to understand the frustrations of impotence which a vanguished nation feels in being forced into policies which it can not alter. Perhaps the greatest degree of resentment against us is aroused by the fact that the American economy is both all-powerful and unstable. It is so powerful that any tremor in it runs through the world economy; every inflationary or deflationary impulse in it affects the weal and woe of every wage-earner in the world. At the present moment inflation in America is complicating the economic problem of every European nation. Yet America is so devoted to the ideals and illusions of a free economy that we will do no more than is absolutely necessary to stabilize our economy. From the viewpoint of the world we are therefore an unmalicious but also slightly inebriated giant. The world is grateful that there is little malice or lust for power among us. But we are slightly drunk with the pride of power and of virtue. We would do well to recognize that our power is so great that it can not be wielded with complete justice. For justice requires that power be checked by power, and that the claims of one person or nation be countered by equally potent claims. We ought to submit as far as possible to the sobering influence of world opinion. We ought to encourage the strengthening of every international agency. But none of these devices will be able to redress the vast disproportion of power which exists by reason of America's great strength.

But justified resentments against inevitable abuses of our power are mixed with less justified reactions. America is Dives in a world of many Lazarus nations. In Asia some resentment against us stems from the feeling that power is *per se* evil. Some of it is nurtured by the Marxist dogma that disproportions of power and privilege are inevitable due to exploitation. One of the most ironic aspects of the world situation is that differences in living standards, which are due primarily to differences in standards of productivity, can be so easily and so plausibly interpreted as the consequence of exploitation. This is why the Marxist dogma has become so potent an ideological weapon in Asia. It has its effect upon the minds of many who are not Marxists.

In Europe Britain, which abdicated world hegemony to us, might be expected to be filled with natural resentments, occasioned by this tremendous shift in power relations. Actually, though the British animus against America is considerable, it does not rise to the heights of the continental animus. The resentments are greatest in France. They are very considerable in every continental nation. Basically they are caused by the fact that Europe is the prospective center of suffering in an east-west conflict while America is the center of the power which determines the outcome of this struggle. The Europeans are like common soldiers on the battlefield who feel that the generals at headquarters are too comfortable and too indifferent to the weal and woe of the men in the trenches.

We are probably not as hysterical as the Europeans suspect us of being. The MacArthur hearings partly reassured them and made them realize that America is not merely preparing to win a war, which Europe wants to avoid. But this does not change the fact that the decisions, which determine the future of Europe, are made by us.

Coupled with these political resentments there are significant cultural prejudices. From the viewpoint of Europe we are a "technocracy" in which the spiritual life has been corrupted by the worship of "gadgets" and in which the Gospel warning "What doth it profit a man if he gain the whole world and lose his own soul" is not heeded. Actually Europe is hardly less devoted to technics than we; its millions are devoted "consumers" of the pabulum of our movie industry. We are therefore frequently criticised for having what Europe desparately wants. The old fable of "sour grapes" explains a good part of the anti-American animus.

Actually the justified elements in this animus are so inextricably intermingled with unjustified elements that it is not possible to make any sharp distinctions. That is why we must not only strive to restrain the impulses of power as much as possible but also be prepared to endure unjustified charges. The peace of the world may well depend upon the ability of the American people, both to resist the most grievous temptations of power and to bear its pains and vexations. This is a very large order, particularly in view of the fact that we accepted the idea that power implies responsibility only a few days ago. It was very important to learn that lesson. We are no longer shirking responsibility. But it is only one of many lessons to be learned by us. To learn all the lessons required for bearing our power with responsibility, with a sense of justice and in the spirit of patience is immediately more important than engaging in dreams about an ideal world state. Even if we could contrive such a state constitutionally, the preponderance of American power would not vanish in it.

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RE-THINKING FUNDAMENTALS

By CORNELIUS LOEW

One function which the Frontier Fellowship has not developed over the years is the art of translating its distinctive outlook into forms which could be used for educational and missionary purposes in the churches. Some of the articles in *Christianity and Society* might be called "translations." But they were produced in haphazard fashion, as the spirit moved this member or that to send in a contribution. We never have asked ourselves what fundamentals ought to be popularized. We never have had a rationale, a strategy. Therefore more and more of our material has been based on presuppositions which are taken for granted; it has been aimed at readers who presumably know what these basic convictions and insights are.

Now that we are moving toward a larger organization which we hope will be more influential, it is important that each one of us think through once again the core of fact and interpretation which unites us, giving special attention to the problem of communicating "social Christianity" to persons in our church and community whose faith needs stimulation in the direction of social and political responsibility. It can be argued that translating requires special gifts, for it is almost as difficult as original thinking and it is to be valued just as highly. One might conclude that a "born" translator should be discovered and commissioned to write usable and effective materials for us. This is a one-sided conclusion. The vitality of our fellowship is going to depend on what each of us does in terms of the concrete problems and conditions of his local situation. There must be a continual interchange of ideas, information, and insights between whatever editorial staff we have and a great many members (and groups) situated in widely different communities. This will be a new responsibility for most of us and it is not going to be easy, because in addition to the hard work of re-thinking fundamentals and of experimenting with ways of passing them on to other people, it calls for the discipline of writing down a running account of what we are thinking and doing.

Having said this, I would like to suggest that one of the first things we should do is to re-examine our conviction that the Christian imperative of love drives us into the struggle for social justice. There is no lack of recognition in the churches that love is the norm of Christian living. But love is interpreted and understood in such a way that it does not call for strenuous engagement in the perennial knock-down drag-out maneuverings for a decent ordering of social and economic and political relationships. How do we harness the love which most church members acknowledge to be the Gospel's demand on them to the public responsibilities which so many of them side-step?

Let us think of some of the difficulties. Many people believe that love applies only to situations where there is person to person contact. They agree with Emil Brunner, who contends that "it is supremely important to emphasize the truth that what is decisive always takes place in the realm of personal relations and not in the political sphere" (*The Divine Imperative,* p. 233). Thus they feel that love is relevant to primary group relationships, but that it has little to do with the organizations and mechanisms by which the forces and vitalities of the community are structured. The problem of inter-relating social structures belongs to the realm of "worldly justice," and it is up to "the world" to meet this problem.

Many of the same Christians are embarrassed by the open display of power which they see in social processes. They hold a middle-class pacifist version of love. The structures of social power in which

their lives are set were fought for and won long ago. The grooves have been cut deep; they are taken for granted. "Love seeketh not her own" means accepting the established structure. The lusty vitality of various groups seeking social change is unchristian self-assertion. To these people it is obvious that love demands the disavowal of the "lust for power" which seems to be inherent in worldly affairs. Therefore they shy away from participating in groups which seek a new ordering of the structures of power, and they hesitate to take an active part in maintaining structures which already exist. They are not even good conservatives.

The individualistic and the quasi-pacifist interpretations of love are only two variations on the theme that public responsibility is not an intrinsic requirement of Christian faith. In one way or another all of them deny that justice is integral to love, and it is at this rock-bottom level that we must attack them. Often we point out that those who oppose love to justice and affirm love against justice are perverting love into an excuse for abandoning society to the forces of injustice. This argument has meaning for those of us who already believe that although love may do more than achieve justice it can never do less than that and still be love. But I doubt its value in discussion with people who believe that love and justice contradict one another. What we need is a cogent and persuasive presentation of the grounds of our conviction that in the world of social organizations and mechanisms justice is the representative of love, the institutionalized form of love (Eduard Heimann). The results of recent biblical study and the return to a more theological understanding of the Scriptures offer us material for such a presentation. Paul Ramsey has summarized much of this work in the first chapter of his *Basic Christian Ethics.* He demonstrates the inseparability of love and justice in the biblical outlook in a way which many of us will find useful.

As an example of what study of the Bible might suggest to us, here is a point Ramsey makes later in the book which is directly related to the two inadequate interpretations of love mentioned above. He writes:

"Love which is unselfish need not *therefore* be unreasoning or unenlightened or accept no distinctions in its vocational obligations. It is true that love which does not inquire into its rights need not wait on determining the just rights of another *against one's self.* But such love . . . . will need to know all that can be known about 'the others,' since in actual life not all of them *can* be served effectively. Love which seeks not its own may very well seek *the neighbor's own.* It must establish some order, and to do so may employ all available ways of determining what may be one neighbor's own in comparison with another. Once this is allowed, then nothing in the nature of biblical 'justice' prevents it from becoming 'worldly justice.' Such justice may be defined as what Christian love does when confronted by two or more neighbors." (P. 347, author's italics.)

Stated in terms of our "antagonists" this means: (1) Love which confines itself to personal relationships defines "the neighbor" much too narrowly; (2) Love which avoids the power struggles involved in worldly justice fails to seek "the neighbor's own," and by default it actually is a form of self-seeking.

But a theological undergirding resting on the Bible is not enough. Social Christianity rests on knowledge as well as on faith, or more accurately, it grows out of a constant interaction between social analysis and theological conviction. One of the reasons why we cannot get very far with a great many people is that they disagree so completely with our picture of what life in society is and how it functions. I am thinking particularly of those who seem to be unaware of the complexity of social processes, who believe that love can be applied to them as a direct principle of organization. Often these Christians advocate love as *the* "only" cure for social ills.

About three years ago the editors of a church magazine decided that the time had come for a constructive approach to the terrible problem of our relation to Russia. Their "radical" proposal was that a brigade of several thousand Christian youth should trek from America to western Russia to help rebuild areas devastated by the war. This act of love would convince the Russians of our good-will and pave the way for amicable relations between the two nations. What a pathetic and futile pipe-dream that was. Yet we meet people every day who are deeply concerned about social justice but whose ideas about what is possible and what is impossible are hardly less fantastic.

Thus in order to present our outlook as a live option we must not only show that justice is the representative of love in society, but also we must describe as accurately and scientifically as possible the nature of the social context in terms of which concrete requirements of justice can be defined. On the theoretical side, the ninth chapter of volume two of Niebuhr's *Nature and Destiny of Man* is a *locus classicus* which deserves continued efforts towards "translation." Another source, one which has been sadly neglected, is Eduard Heimann's very wise and useful book, *Freedom and Order,* of which the final chapter heading gave this article its name. On the practical side, that is, the side where we analyse the specific structures of American life on every level from the community to the nation, we all have a lot to learn; but we already know enough to give us plenty of illustrative material to substantiate our general approach. When John Bennett came back from Japan last spring he stressed the fact that the Japanese looked at America in terms of the stereotypes of classical capitalism, and that his most effective resource was to sketch the developments of the last twenty years as proof of the fact that surprising things have happened to American economic life which have changed the social structure. Many people in our churches and our communities need the same kind of education. They need to be brought up to date, and this is an integral part of our task of gaining acceptance for what we mean by "social Christianity."

THE REAL GROUNDS OF HOPE

By WILLIAM MILLER

Editor's Note: Religion at the News Desk

A most significant project which will be of interest to the readers of *Christianity and Society* is "Religion at the News Desk: A Christian Interpretation of Public Events." The 15-minute radio broadcast is conducted by a group of graduate students who are doing research in religion and ethics at Yale University and Yale Divinity School for the New Haven Council of Churches. The purpose of the group is expressed in this statement from them:

"We believe that the Christian faith and specific social problems should be related to each other. Therefore, Religion at the News Desk is not just a 'religious news' program telling what bishops are doing It deals with major news events at home and abroad. We believe that comment on the news always springs from certain basic values and that these values ought to be acknowledged openly. Therefore, Religion at the News Desk is not just a news report. It is a commentary and takes a position on crucial issues. This position is not intended to represent all Protestants, or to be 'the Christian viewpoint,' but it does represent the Christian faith of those who write it. We believe that responsible comment in the press or on the radio should not represent the bias of one individual, but the beliefs held by a group and a tradition. Therefore, Religion at the News Desk is written by a group of Christians who check, criticize, and support each other. They attempt to reflect the emerging consensus of the contemporary ecumenical pronouncements. We believe that responsible comment should reflect the serious research being done by specialists in the problems dealt with."

The group regularly publishes its scripts in mimeographed form; they can be obtained for a moderate subscription charge by writing to Religion at the News Desk, 409 Prospect Street, New Haven 11, Connecticut. Scripts may be rebroadast in their entirety, or adapted. The present chairman of the group is William Miller; Ernest Lefever is secretary.

We are publishing a sample broadcast, selected almost at random. This program was written by William Miller, and was broadcast on September 1, 1951, over station WELI, New Haven.

The Real Grounds of Hope

Good evening. The negotiations at Kaesong are stalled. The Communists have charged that the United Nations violated the neutrality of the truce area. General Ridgeway replied that the charges were fabrications. There seemed to be little hope for a cease-fire in Korea. Is there any basis for hope, at all?

Hope for a truce in Korea is fading fast.

Among some Americans this hope seemed, like many disappointed hopes, to be turning into despair. Some were saying desperately, that if there was no settlement at Kaesong, then all hope to avoid an immediate, catastrophic, world-wide atomic war, was gone.

But the despair into which hope was turning indicated that there was something false about the hope in the first place.

When Mr. Malik made the speech which started the negotiations for a cease-fire, and then, when the Chinese and North Koreans agreed to a meeting, many of us could not suppress a high hope, not only that there might be peace in Korea, but that there might be some real let-up of the international tension. Despite the warnings of our leaders, Congress began to consider cuts in defense appropriations and reductions

in taxes. Congress did make foolhardy, drastic cuts in the foreign aid bill and in appropriations for the Voice of America. The stock market, in its perverse way, showed the hopefulness of many people: stocks went down sharply in a Korean "Peace Scare." The lessons of the past were forgotten: we were letting up because we thought "peace" was coming. Just as we had not understood the idea of a limited war in the framework of a world-wide struggle, so also we could not understand how limited would be any peace which was negotiated in Korea. Despite all the counsels and warnings and lessons we have had, we were falsely hopeful about the cease-fire talks in Korea.

Some had a false hope that the Communists might suddenly, miraculously have changed. They hoped, wishfully, that the Communist powers might be seeking something more than another temporary advantage for themselves. This hope was false, as we now see. The Communist powers have, apparently, fabricated a crude "bombing" incident to provide an excuse to suspend the talks and spread their propaganda. The incident of the alleged "bombing" is, from the point-of-view of the West, a deliberate fraud and a clear attempt to manipulate world opinion and blackmail the West. The request for a "re-investigation" of the incident, after General Ridgeway had demonstrated its manifest falsity, and now the new charge, that there was a machinegun attack on General Nan Il's headquarters, show the way the Communist tactics probably will run. There will be continued threats, charges, and propaganda blasts around the Kaesong meeting to try to influence susceptible nations at the conference in San Francisco on a Japanese Peace Treaty. The Russians and some satellites are coming to this conference, and have already indicated that they intend to fight the treaty as it is now drafted. The charges and shifts and threats in Korea will fit in with the struggle in San Francisco. The hopes we entertained before, and any lingering hopes that any might entertain now, that the Russians are suddenly going to change, are false hopes. They are false because the pressures and tensions of a totalitarian dictatorship require a constant antagonist and a constant expansion; they are false because the narrow dogmatism and lack of self-criticism and complete power of the Soviet leaders give to the sin of man one of the most unchecked and sweeping fields of operations in all of history. The Communist tradition and history and dogma and present power arrangements are all such that they require a constant, total control and global expansion, a ruthless manipulation and drive for greater power. Any hope based on an expectation that the present Soviet power will behave in any other way is a false hope. To the degree that our hopes about the cease-fire negotiations were based on an expectation that the Communists had suddenly changed, that hope was false. Now, as those cease-fire talks are manipulated by the Communists we see the falsity of that hope, and many are turning to despair.

But if hope is based not on a false expectation, but on truth, there need be no final despair.

II

There are two kinds of false hope which shriek at us daily in a dark world. Both of these hopes, because they are false, give away easily to despair.

One false hope is born of wishful thinking. Anxious to get out from under the burden of responsibility and the threat of destruction, this false hope snatches at each sign of a way out, and calls it the true way. Each time the Soviet Union says "Peace" this false hope rises to the bait, and says, see, they want peace. This false hope rose with the cease-fire talks in Korea, and many who did not speak hopefully still snatched at the excuse to unload responsibility, to cut down a tax, shave the aid to the free world, evade a new responsibility. This false hope is still among us, in the cry of those who would dodge the hard responsibility of the present hour, and excuse themselves from further contribution to a united effort.

The other false hope is born of pride. Unable to see our own sin, cocky in our own strength, we cry out in haughtiness that we do not need allies, that we need not fear, that we have never been defeated and that if necessary we can "go it alone." Sometimes this false hope springs from the arrogance of the militaristic nationalist, sometimes from the blindness of the callous isolationist; but always it springs from pride, Pride which cannot admit that we could be wrong, morally, or that we could be weak, physically. This false hope says we are weak and timid not to attack the Russians now, it disdains our allies, and it refuses to use any means but brute military strength. It lives in the proud illusion that because we have never lost a war therefore we can never lose a war and in the sinful illusion that because we have in some things reached a point of somewhat more freedom and justice and human dignity than others, that therefore we are never morally wrong.

These are false hopes. As the Kaesong negotiations falter the false hope of wishful thinking turns into despair, and rises again in more desparate and ugly form as the false hope of pride, calling for us to abandon all diplomacy and negotiation and to throw ourselves into war. The end of this false hope is the same as the end of all human pride: despair.

There is a basis for hope, but it is neither of these, neither the optimistic trust that somehow the Communists will change, nor the arrogant illusion that America will always win, neither the dream that evil will suddenly turn to good nor the self-deception that we are always on the side of good.

This real hope sees that the world will move and change; that after one incident, a Kaesong, there will be another incident, that after this moment of despair there will be another moment, that after this stage of history there will be another stage.

It sees that even if we should win all the battles against the Communists, still we would be enormously changed in the struggle against them. It sees that "Our Way of Life" will not stay the same, no matter what happens, for the hand of God moves on, creating and purifying; we cannot defend "Our Way of Life," a static, unchanging order, for the world changes, and the Communists will change us as we are changing them. Our hope then does not rest in "Our Way of Life," or in our own power or goodness, or in the weakness and internal contradictions of the Communist regime. Our hope rests rather in the power that works among all in the whole movement of history to save what is true and good, and to break the power of sin. Behind the communities and groups and nations and movements in which we men find ourselves is God. God works through all these diverse instruments, through us and through them, for purposes which are larger than the purposes of any of us. The threads of the future always lie in our hands, for our acts today will shape it, and there is hope; the act of love in this moment will never be lost, for the community of love is redeemed from out of the struggle, and there is hope; the possibilities of good lie always open before us, and there is hope; and the consummation of history will not be the triumph of any limited "way of life" but the Reign of God among all men, and the end of despair. There is hope, and in this hope we are free to act today.

THE CONFERENCE ON CHRISTIAN ACTION: A REPORT

The Conference on Christian Action, held at the School of Religion of Howard University, Washington, on September 14–15, 1951, brought into formal organization an interdenominational Protestant agency devoted to constructive thought and action on social, political, and economic matters from the viewpoint of the Christian faith. Over two hundred Protestant leaders, pastors, theologians, laymen, and seminary students, gathered to make what had heretofore been provisionally known as CHRISTIAN ACTION permanent, both in structure and name. Churchmen from some twenty denominations expressed satisfaction at the conference results. Groups such as the Frontier Fellowship, Religion at the News Desk, and the Fellowship of Southern Churchmen, as well as a number of denominational social action agencies, were represented.

The conference opened on Friday afternoon with a devotional service led by the Rev. B. K. Apelian, Chairman of the Frontier Fellowship. The situation at the present time in America, the situation that led to the calling of the conference, was analyzed by a panel of four speakers: Mr. David Burgess, of the Fellowship of Southern Churchmen and the CIO; Professor Kenneth Underwood, Assistant Professor of Social Ethics at Yale Divinity School; Mr. Marquis Childs, syndicated Washington columnist and Episcopal layman; and Professor Reinhold Niebuhr, Dean of the Faculty at Union Theological Seminary, and Editor of *Christianity and Society*.

Mr. Burgess stated that "we churchmen have gathered together because we are concerned amout the 'spirit of fear' which has gripped America and has seeped into the churches. Many Christian laymen now hesitate to take a stand on any controversial question of race or labor or international relations, for fear of being labelled and associated with suspected men." In such an atmosphere, right-wing pressure groups have had an opportunity to spread the impression that any change in the structure of American society will lead inevitably to anarchy, chaos, and totalitarianism, and few clergymen have felt called upon to offer their services for reconciliation in labor-capital struggles, or spoken against low levels of political pamphleteering. "It is the belief of us churchmen that the Christian leaders should apply the gospel to every social crisis—in industry, on the farm, in politics," concluded Burgess. "If we refuse to speak, if we refuse to act, our faith in God's power will inevitably be weakened, and we also will be conquered by the 'spirit of fear'."

Kenneth Underwood declared that America alone possesses the combination of technical resources and democracy adequate for confronting totalitarian threats and for attacking the conditions on which Communism thrives. Whether the American Protestant churches will provide adequate moral and religious leadership for this nation will decide the fate of millions of people, he asserted. He continued:

"The Protestant churches need an organization of Christians independent of official agencies which has developed clear consensus and conviction as to how to relate the gospel to the modern political economy. This organization would have an open caucus in the church from the local community to the top level organizations such as the National Council of Churches. There is already developed among many Protestants a consensus of convictions which is not adequately represented or understood. We want to develop our position carefully with adequate expert guidance and with humility, for God does not speak through one organization alone. We want to find and develop new leaders who will

work together, carefully through the Protestant churches. Only organization overcomes the immobility of members. Only if we are able to find strength in all the major denominations can we serve to aid the churches achieve more adequate witness in the modern world."

Underwood stated that the conference faced what is Protestantism's toughest task—the achievement of a strategy adequate for expression of its faith in the modern world. "The world would be right in not taking seriously the Protestant churches," he insisted, "if they prove unable to speak in concrete and specific terms about the policies it wants men in positions of power to pursue to curtail inflation, to share justly the cost of national security, and to achieve economic and social reform abroad." Though declaring that a counter weight to the so-called "right wing" groups was necessary, he concluded, "But one primary job is to develop a positive, prophetic message and strategy for the Protestant churches, not to be an anti-organization. We seek your guidance and your prayers that God may use our errors and the truth He has given us for the redemption of mankind."

Marquis Childs emphasized that in the inflationary economy of the present many who fall outside the protection of privileged pressure groups can easily fall prey to anxiety and fear and thus provide rich soil for unscrupulous men who may seek to exploit them. An increasingly significant number of those caught in the present squeeze are beginning to act irrationally and irresponsibly; such people form a constant threat to rational and democratic government. Mr. Childs traced a parallel between pre-Hitler Germany and our contemporary situation, and expressed his feeling that the rising irrationality meant that "it can happen here."

Reinhold Niebuhr, prefacing his remarks with the observation that a group such as Christian Action was much needed and expressing his satisfaction at the size and character of the group before him, pointed out that four major problems of American Protestantism confront the new organization. The first problem is the "recrudescence of a type of conservatism in which Christian pietism becomes a screen for an un-Christian economic order. The religious wing of this conservatism simply provides economic interest with religious justification for their selfish position. It professes to fear immoral political power but is indifferent to irresponsible economic power."

The second problem, continued Dr. Niebuhr, is posed by the group, steadily dwindling, of "rather pathetic fellow travelers who have debased Christian radicalism by subservience to Stalinism." It was made clear by Niebuhr and others in the conference that the new agency could have nothing to do with such individuals.

Thirdly, Dean Niebuhr decried a "sentimental liberalism" that talks grandly of Christian ethics but fails to speak to specific racial or labor or political issues. It is necessary to avoid the "sheer irrelevance of a great deal of present Christian testimony on social issues to actual problems."

The last problem discussed by Dr. Niebuhr was that of providing for the large body of Christian churchmen who have the courage and wisdom to deal effectively with social issues but lack any organization to make their testimony effective.

After the panel, there was opportunity for expression from the floor of the opinions of those present, and statements of what the new organization should stand for and against were given. The Friday evening session followed a service of worship in the Howard Chapel; Dr. Albert T. Mollegen, Professor of Christian Ethics at the Protestant Episcopal Theological Seminary at Alexandria, Va., presided. Professor Julian Hartt of the Yale Divinity School read a tentative theological statement which he had prepared for the conference, and a lively discussion ensued. A committee was appointed by the chairman to prepare a statement of purpose for the conference, a statement that would gather up the many provocative ideas that had been expressed

for which there seemed to be a broad consensus of opinion.

Professor H. Shelton Smith opened the Saturday sessions with a devotional service, after which the conference broke up into groups to discuss the statement of purpose that had been prepared during the night. The reports of each group were presented in plenary session, at which Dr. John C. Bennett, Professor of Christian Theology and Ethics at Union Theological Seminary, presided. After the reports and discussion, it was formally voted that a permanent organization be formed. Rev. Ray Gibbons, Director of the Council for Social Action of the Congregational-Christian Churches, led the conference in prayer at this high point of the gathering. A committee to revise the statement of purpose in the light of the morning's study and discussions was appointed.

The Rev. George D. Younger, pastor of the First Baptist Church of Rochester, Pa., presented tentative plans for the organizational structure of the new group; his report was accepted in principle. It was voted that an Executive Council of twenty-four members be entrusted with the leadership of the movement and the completion of details of organization. A nominating committee to prepare a list of nominees for the Council membership was appointed by the chair.

The final session, Saturday afternoon, was presided over by Dr. Mollegen. The revised statement of purpose was presented and discussed, and in the form in which it emerged from the conference it reads as follows:

Statement of Purpose

"We are a group of Christians and church members who have met in Washington seeking to discern the judgment of God upon ourselves and seeking to find a way to fulfill our common responsibilities under God. We seek to establish an organization which will serve the purposes and position set forth below and we invite the coöperation of all who can join with us in them.

"We believe the Gospel of Jesus Christ summons us to face fearlessly the political, economic, and social realities of our time, and to act responsibly for the healing of the whole man and of society. We are conscious of the need for a community within the churches working for a continuing appraisal and application of theology, liturgy, and church policy to these realities. We are convinced that God has drawn us together to organize such a community made up of men and women committed to common purposes. Our task is to work primarily within and through our churches and ecumenical agencies, such as the National Council of Churches. The true Church is God's instrument properly transcending class, racial, and national loyalties. We are members of churches; we share their shortcomings; and we are under divine obligation to bring their fullest resources to bear on our common tasks.

"We affirm that the Gospel impels us to work together for a responsible society—local, national, and world-wide—which will give each person or group a fair and equal opportunity to develop his full potentialities. This involves judgment on the political, economic, and social policies of our country; it also involves responsibility to seek constructive policy by aiming at a consensus on the relation of the gospel to social issues and through common action in the light of this consensus. Church members have a responsibility as Christians to work in the power structures and center of influence in society, and to speak and act on concrete issues as they arise.

"Chief among the evils confronting the Church are wide economic inequalities, racialism, conflict in a divided world, and the growing insecurity, disillusionment, and fear which have placed millions under the jeopardy of totalitarian enslavement. We recognize that our failures and shortcomings have contributed to this disorder, and that the menace of international communism reveals in a special way the failure of the Church to be true to its Lord.

"We reject all kinds of totalitarianism. We reject the absolute identification of

capitalism, socialism, or any economic and political system with the will of God. Judgments about the political economy must be made as response to the dynamic activity of God in concrete specific situations and as an effort to integrate and coordinate these responses into some overall policies. We reject the irresponsible exploitation of anti-communism to undercut freedom through intimidation. We confess with shame that we as a nation though blessed with extraordinary power and wealth, have frequently been confused and have often failed men of good will who have looked to us for leadership.

"Though the majority of us agree that military power is necessary to withstand political tyranny, none of us places major reliance upon military power or accepts uncritically the decisions of the military. As churchmen we recognize that the paramount objective of both church and government must be to open channels of reconciliation, rehabilitation, and reform.

"These are some further judgments we make as Christians today in the present situation:

—Our American foreign policy should seek in cooperation with other nations, principally under the United Nations, the cooperative development of world resources and a firm defense against totalitarianism and against the domination of world markets by any one nation or coalition of nations.

—The national community through its government must take action to maintain a high and stable level of economic activity, avoiding inflation and depression.

—All discrimination and segregation on the basis of race, class, creed, or national origin must be eliminated from our national life. The Church must begin with its own sin in this area.

—There must be reform of American politics to secure responsible, cohesive party action and integrated administrative and legislative policy.

—Our traditional civil liberties must be preserved and extended in the face of the attacks upon them which exploit present fears.

"May God rule our actions, overruling our errors, unto the redemption of the world through Jesus Christ. Amen."

The Executive Council

Late in the Saturday afternoon session, the report of the nominating committee was presented, and further nominations were made from the floor. It was voted that the members of the conference should vote for eighteen of the list of thirty-three nominees; the remaining six members of the Executive Council are to be selected by the Council at its first meeting. Council members were elected for a year.

Elected to the Executive Council were many whose names have already appeared in this report; John Bennett, David Burgess, Ray Gibbons, Albert T. Mollegen, Reinhold Niebuhr, Kenneth Underwood, and George Younger. Also elected to the Council were Robert T. Handy, Assistant Professor of Church History at Union Theological Seminary and Chairman of the Provisional Committee that called the conference; F. Ernest Johnson, Executive Secretary of the Division of Research and Survey of the National Council of Churches; Elizabeth Lam, Executive Associate of the Committee on International Exchange of Persons, the Conference Board of Associated Research Councils; Charles S. McCoy, Methodist minister, and graduate student at Yale who had served as Executive Secretary of the Provisional Committee; Alexander Miller, Presbyterian minister, of the faculty of Stanford University; William Miller, Instructor in Social Ethics at the Yale Divinity School; Liston Pope, Dean of the Yale Divinity School; E. E. Schattschneider, Professor of Political Science at Wesleyan University, Middletown, Conn.; Walter Sikes, Assistant Director of the Committee for Social Action, The Disciples of Christ; M. Moran Weston, Assistant Minister of St. Philip's (Episcopal) Church, New York City; and Winnifred Wygal, writer and lecturer, formerly of the YWCA National Board.

At the Saturday afternoon session some of the problems facing the Executive Council were discussed. It was agreed that annual membership fees would be $2.00 for students, $10.00 for individual membership, and $15.00 for a combination husband-and-wife membership. The membership fees will include subscriptions to the organization's publications. It was agreed that various levels of publications be prepared; some aimed at the theologically trained, others focussed to the needs of the non-specialist in theology. Pledge cards were circulated, and many pledged generously. Pledges, contributions and membership fees may be sent to Christian Action, 100 East Pearl Street, New Haven, Connecticut.

The relationship of Christian Action to existing groups of similar nature was the subject of much discussion. The Frontier Fellowship will dissolve, merging its life into that of the new organization. Some form of associational membership with the Fellowship of Southern Churchmen and other such groups will be considered by official representatives of the groups in question at a later date. It was repeatedly stressed that the new group intends to cooperate with the National Council of Churches of Christ in America.

As soon as possible, local Christian Action groups will be encouraged to form wherever feasible. The national office will send out lists of names to those interested in a given geographical area that a like-minded group can be gathered. Local groups will gather for discussion, for specific action, and for the preparation and criticism of publications.

It was unanimously voted to thank President Mordecai Johnson, President of Howard, and Dr. Frank Wilson, Dean of the School of Religion, both of whom had spoken to the conference, for their courtesy and cooperation throughout the entire conference.

The final action of the conference was to make permanent the name, Christian Action, by formal vote. The name received seventy votes, while the second choice received sixteen.

A Prayer for Christian Action

Just before closing, Moran Weston made a suggestion that was thoughtfully and enthusiastically received. He proposed that each member of Christian Action be invited to join in a noon-day Prayer for Christian Action. He has written the prayer at the request of the conference. It is recommended that each member repeat the prayer at noon, every Monday, Wednesday and Friday, as a definite responsibility and activity arising out of one's membership in Christian Action. The minimum participation should be once each week, on Monday. It is hoped that some members will offer the corporate prayer each day, and that they make this known to the central office. If the prayer is missed at noon, it should be said at the earliest convenient time on the appointed day. In explaining the nature and purpose of the prayer, Mr. Weston said: "There need be no formality about the Christian Action Noon-day Prayer. It may and should be said wherever one is. Whenever possible other activity should be suspended for the prayer—in the office, on the street, on the bus, plane or train. Prayer is our most effective action, and purposeful, persistent prayer must undergird all that we do in Christian Action. The common prayer, offered at a common time will give constancy to our effort and strengthen the bonds of fellowship which unite us and without which we shall be lacking in power and attainment."

The form of the prayer, to which members are urged to add other prayers or petitions as they are moved, is as follows:

"Almighty God, may Thy justice and peace be established among all men and nations. So guide and direct our Action that Thy will may be done through us. Endow us with the will and courage fearlessly to seek Thy Kingdom, and fill our hearts with Thy love and grace that we draw others unto Thee and turn none away; through Jesus Christ our Lord, Amen.

PRESIDENT THEODOR HEUSS AS RELIGIOUS SOCIAL LEADER

By ADOLPHE KELLER

The President of the Western German Republic, Dr. Theodor Heuss, was given a doctorate of theology honoris causa by the Theological Faculty of the University of Tübingen a few weeks ago. He has also been honored by two American Colleges. There are certainly not many statesmen or politicians on whom such an honor has been conferred by higher educational institutions. It is, however, not a mere courtesy that the President of the State has been honored, but it means a real recognition of the Christian thought and effort with which he was taking an active part in the new evangelical social reform during the last fifty years.

We first met when he edited, in close cooperation with Friedrich Naumann, various weeklies and magazines like the "Hilfe" and "Die Zeit." It was Friedrich Naumann, the social reformer, to whose life and work and social activity Theodor Heuss has devoted a stately volume which is much more than a mere biography of a social leader, and expresses many ideals for which he stood himself for a whole life.

At a moment when in America the so-called Social Gospel began to exert a manifest influence on the religious life of the United States, and already before that time, the social conscience of the German Lutheran Church had been stirred up by a few leaders deeply concerned by the social unrest among German Labor and the religious neglect of this tremendous new problem by the Protestant Churches in Germany.

The first challenge had been struck by a real social prophet, Wichern, who together with Pastor von Bodelschwingh, the two Blumhardts and the Fliedners became real pioneers for the first religious-social movement. It had to face many obstacles and was in fact never one of those great waves of high moral discontent and religious unrest which swept over the Evangelical Churches in the Western world, in Great Britain and the USA.

In the nineties of the last century the preacher of the Court in Berlin, Stöcker, issued a challenge asking that Church and Labor should find each other. Various parallel movements such as the *Evangelical Social Congress* with Harnack, or the *Church Social Congress* with Stöcker and Nathusius, or the *Religious Social Movement* tried in various ways to shape the new social postulates of a new evangelical era. The Church had not yet understood the real nature of the German Labor Movement when British labor had already asked long before for more social justice, for an awakening of the social consciousness, for bread and social protection of the lower classes. German Labor was caught early by a social philosophy or ideology which swept away in a growing measure the deeper religious social convictions started by the social leaders of the first era mentioned above. Everybody knows what influence one of the most famous and stimulating books of modern times, "Das Kapital" of Karl Marx, had on the young social reform movement on the continent. In Engels and Lassalle the young movement found ardent missionaries for the new social democratic gospel, too closely embedded in a materialistic and revoluntionary ideology. It preached not simply the end of capitalism, the breaking down of the conservative or liberal economic system, but also class-war, a dialectic materialism which could hardly be distinguished from a religious indifferentism or atheism.

President Heuss in his book on Friedrich Naumann gives us a vivid picture of this

continental labor revolution. This biography reflects in many ways the life and evolution of President Heuss himself. He entered enthusiastically into the violent social and ideological struggles at the beginning of the new century and rendered, as editor and educator, conspicuous services to the religious social revival in German Protestantism in the battle against materialism and atheism of the official socialist doctrine.

It goes without saying that President Heuss and these social pioneers concentrated their activity on the great industrial areas. In the Ruhr, in Frankfurt, in Berlin, everywhere the new religious-social challenge met with vehement opposition from Labor and from conservative circles. The old Chancellor Bismarck as well as the young Kaiser Wilhelm II had no use for "social pastors." The tide turned only in 1890 when Bismarck gave up the anti-labor laws, and the Kaiser gave a salute to the new reform movement.

What the Federal Council of Churches in America adopted as its "Social Creed" in 1908 had been anticipated, twenty years earlier, by this new social religious Renaissance in Germany. President Heuss lived in the midst of this struggle for a new social Germany and for an evangelical inspiration by the Gospel of Love instead by the Gospel of hatred. Social democracy declared the Church to be bankrupt in its social effort and disputed with her any possibility of a social reform which, however, had been so successful in the Methodist Reformation in Great Britain. Socialism and the rising Communism did not believe in a social evolution but in violent methods of class-war. Even Naumann had to give up a mere reform by charitable methods, and to descend into the arena of political fights. He accepted therefore a mandate for the German Reichstag.

Dr. Heuss was one of the strongest exponents in this struggle for a new Germany built on democratic principles, social justice and a Christian conscience. He fought for these ideals in innumerable lectures and addresses, but mostly in the two magazines which Naumann had founded, "Die Hilfe" and "Die Zeit", which paralleled the efforts for a social reform and a political rebirth started by the Christian Social Conferences. But neither in Germany nor in France was a steady progress of these new constructive social ideas possible. The social and religious climate of Great Britain prepared by the social reform of the Methodist movement and by some social Anglican leaders like Kingsley and Maurice was much more favorable to a quiet social progress. It finally reached its Magna Charta in the studies and declarations of that great conference on "Christian Economics, Politics and Citizenship" (C.O.P.E.C.) in 1924, the fore-runner of the Ecumenical Movement on "Life and Work." The British social tradition and Christian conscience was here a stronger moral power and educational influence than Karl Marx had been after the publication of his revolutionary book "Das Kapital," written in London.

The parallel social evolution on the continent especially in Germany and France, Switzerland and Sweden, was torn by much more radical conflicts. Communism had already raised its head, when the French communist writer Babeuf published his revolutionary challenge and then, after him, Marx had published the "Communist Manifesto". While Great Britain and America in their social reform were at least partly influenced by a Christian heritage or at least a humanistic ideal of justice and liberty, communism became the social philosophy of Russian labor, and drew the practical conclusion from the doctrine of Babeuf, Marx and Lenin which preached the dictatorship of the proletariat, the class-struggle, an intransigent and comprehensive collectivism as well as a dialectical materialism.

President Heuss shows, that in Germany the struggle between the Church and social democracy was paralleled by the beginning struggle between State and Church which assumed acute forms during the "Kulturkampf" under Bismarck. This struggle

was unavoidable as long as the slogan "for throne and altar" dominated the conservative leaders of the Church. The social evangelical activity was partly characterised by a strong charitable tendency, but had partly an academic character, especially when "die Catheder Sozialisten" with Max Weber, Wagner, Schmoller, Schulze-Gaevernitz, Harnack and others entered the Evangelical Social Congress. They did not succeed in winning the collaboration of the social democrats who, in spite of the educational efforts of men like Naumann and Heuss, were driven more and more towards an ideological system or an extreme dogmatism in their social philosophy. Neither the parliamentary vivacity of Naumann nor the journalistic activity of Dr. Heuss was then strong enough to overcome the reactionary or conservative tendencies or the transformation of labor into a political ideological party. Neither academic socialism for the fiery challenges of Naumann could handle the labor masses with a similar seductive passion as Lassalle and Engels possessed. While such charitable enterprises like "Das Rauhe Haus" in Hamburg or the wonderful charitable work of Pastor von Bodelschwingh at Bielefeld or Fliedner's deaconess institutions in Kaiserswerth, or the social reform efforts of Werner in Reutlingen tried to impress the masses by the power of Christian love and mercy, Naumann and Heuss had hoped that by founding a new labor party aiming at a combination of national tradition and a social revival, a new ethical foundation of a Christian socialism could be attained.

President Heuss tells then the story of a journey to the Holy Land which Naumann made—the heavy weight of Naumann nearly breaking the spine of the Don Quixotian mare which had to carry him through the stony fields of Galilee—brought a change in the social philosophy and policy of Naumann. He attended at Jerusalem the inauguration of the Evangelical Redeemer's Church which the Emperor William II in his capacity of "supreme bishop" of the Prussian Church officiated with all the pomp he liked. Naumann was deeply struck by the contrast not simply between this pomp and the frightening poverty of the people, but by the apparent indifference which Christ had evidently felt when He rode on the same stony roads without moving a hand for changing these social conditions of a poor country. With this disillusion which Naumann expressed in his famous book "Asia" and in his "Letters on Religion," Naumann lost the original social impulse and his belief in a Christian social reform. This disillusion and the political corruption following the communist appeal was certainly one of the reasons why neither the Christian social movement nor the conservative policy of Prussian Junkers, nor Christian romantic dreams of a new social world could resist the ruthless drive and the political passion of Hitler's National Socialism which gave to so many a last hope of some new combination between nationalistic ideals and social reform. With the fall of the Kaiser social democracy climbed into the saddle. But the communists could better ride and galloped headlong towards a social revolution so that by fear of a general chaos, Hitler won in an easy way a whole army for the national social reform which he promised. Political fate took its sinister course. Germany soon lost all its friends. Neither the political parties nor labor nor the University protested. Under this impression Einstein told me one day at Princeton that he had hoped to find in the University an advocate for liberty. He was disappointed, as he said. But he, as a Jew, admitted that the Church then fought this necessary fight for Liberty and Justice.

Dr. Heuss, again editor of "Die Hilfe" 1933–1936, tried with some friends to stem the national-socialist tide but was forced by the Gestapo to give up this editorial and educational activity. He experienced personally the ruthless vindictiveness of the totalitarian State and the hatred of its ideological leaders as well as of the communists. When he won back his liberty he tried again, in a new political situation, to teach a Christian social philosophy

which meanwhile had undergone considerable changes since the days of Stöcker and Naumann. So has the former social democratic movement, which today under Dr. Schumacher, without giving up the great socialist ideals, feels the necessity to give to them a new sociological and ideological foundation, and to draw a clear line between a social reform movement and revolutionary Bolshevism. After the nationalisation of Germany's politics, the Christian social elite which formed the Christian Democratic Union, is not merely interested in the concentration of constructive political tendencies, but in a new Christianisation of the German people which is so strongly influenced by the present world-wide secularist tendencies. President Heuss sees the danger both of a bolshevisation of Eastern Germany as of the secularisation of the Western part and remembering his former Christian social activity is therefore adapting himself to modern exigencies, challenging strongly the social Christian forces which are alive in a new form in the Germany of today.

He is visiting regularly all kind of centres of social activity like the "Rauhes Haus" in Hamburg, religious organisations and Theological Faculties. He is one of the few statesmen who have the courage to ask for a rebirth of Germany from the spirit of the Gospel. In doing it he does not only advocate a spirit of voluntary charity but claims that the State should not only be powerful but merciful. He even stands not simply for the "Good Samaritan" but for the merciful statesman who has to apply not simply the law of human rights but the law of mercy in a courage of love, as he said recently before a conference of the "World Brotherhood" which includes the former Society for cooperation between Catholics, Protestant, and Jews. He sees in this spirit the sole counterbalance against the menacing "Vermassung" of the German people, the mass spirit which is threatening to suck the very life out of the soul of the German people.

He stressed such cooperation quite recently in the presence of High Commissioner McCloy at a meeting in Wiesbaden, and admitted that such cooperation has not yet been fully accepted as it should. He had the courage to remind the German nation of the wrong which it had done to the Jewish people, and exhorts them to resist to the new antisemitism arising afresh in certain milieus. The elite of the German nation is still discussing whether there is a collective guilt in the legal sense while it is sure that there is a collective "sense of shame" under which the best German element is suffering today, feeling that their name is under worldwide jurisdiction. Heuss asks the German people not to forget. "We should not forget the Nuremberg Laws, the 'Star of Juda,' the burned synagogues, the sending of Jewish people into the camps, into disaster and death, nor forget the profanation of Jewish cemeteries." He finds the root of such sacrilegious philosophy, responsible for such mistakes, in a rationalistic pedantry and tries to replace it by establishing a new human relationship between men. The German mind has to watch today certain signs of a new nationalism rising again.

This is a courageous Christian witness which President Heuss gives here from his social conscience in favor of the Jews. He reminds his people that today every hostile action against the Jews means a lost battle. All the nations and peoples have to react against this spirit. He welcomed therefore the words of President Truman who sees in the conflict between Christianity and the Jewish faith and the national patriotism, the problem of a new cooperation which should be thoroughly studied in the near future as the "World Brotherhood" has already begun to do it.

It takes courage for a President like Heuss to recommend such cooperation. There are men who take this risk. Beside him leaders like Martin Buber and Editor Gollancz may be taken as living symbols for that "adventure of Love" to which the future belongs.

BOOK REVIEWS

A SOLOVYOV ANTHOLOGY. *Edited by S. L. Frank, with translations by Natalie Duddington.* New York: Scribner's, 1950, 255 pp. $3.50.

Solovyov undoubtedly was one of the greatest European thinkers of the nineteenth century—a profound philosophical theologian, a mystic who nevertheless was a man of the "prophetic" type, a moral teacher, a political theoretician, a poet, and a literary critic. The passages selected by Mr. Frank illustrate effectively the multiplicity of these concerns. Of particular interest to members of the Fellowship is the fact that Solovyov wrestled strenuously with the problem of the relation of Christian faith to economics and politics. Listen to a couple of sentences with which he shocked a Moscow audience in 1891 when he was lecturing on the subject, "The Collapse of the Mediaeval World-Conception":

"The majority of men who are responsible for the social, moral, and intellectual progress of the last few centuries disdain the name of Christians. But if nominal Christians have been faithless to the cause of Christ and almost ruined it (if it could be ruined), why should not nominal non-Christians, denying Christ in words, serve His cause?" (p. 70).

As these words suggest, Solovyov was tremendously concerned about the irrelevance of the Christianity of his day to social and political problems. In fact, his position was in many ways a direct parallel to that of the Social Gospel movement in America. Interestingly enough, after a period of utopian optimism (first centered on social reform and then on the ecumenical reunion of the churches), he moved more and more toward an eschatological and tragic view of history, and finally he arrived at an outlook which combined a bitter awareness of the power of evil, unconquerable until the end of history, with a keen sense of the Christian's responsibility to struggle for truth and justice without needing optimistic illusions to supply motive power.

Thus in his portrayal of a heroic Christian faith, as well as in his profound speculations, Solovyov commands our attention.

CORNELIUS LOEW

DEMOCRACY AND THE CHURCHES. *By James Hastings Nichols.* Philadelphia: The Westminster Press, 1951. 298 pp. $4.50.

Dr. Henry Sloane Coffin explains in a Foreword that this book was commissioned after World War II by a group of church leaders—later organized as the Committee on Religious Tolerance of the Federal Council—who felt the need for an authoritative statement of the historic relation of the various Christian communions to democracy. They have what they wanted; something more and something better, I should guess, than they dared to hope for. The book is quite first-class: massive, circumstantial, well-documented and thoroughly readable.

Dr. Nichols writes from within the tradition which he calls "Puritan Protestantism" (a term which he prefers to Troeltsch's "ascetic Protestantism"). He agrees with Troeltsch that it represents "along with mediaeval Catholicism . . . the second great main type of Christian social doctrine" (p. 10). His analysis covers a very wide area and the last 150 years, but he is concerned principally with this tradition in which he himself belongs, and with certain "liberal or democratic elements" in Roman Catholicism which he conceives as having affinities with it. His study of the fate of "liberal Catholicism" at the hands of the hierarchy involves him in an intensive, thoroughly-documented, and somewhat grisly study of "political Catholicism" and in particular of papal directives

in the political and social field over the last 100 years.

Dr. Nichols is a Christian and a Protestant, as he is careful to point out, not because Christianity and Protestantism afford a base for democracy, but because for him Protestant Christianity is true. In point of fact the historic relation between Christianity and democracy is not nearly as simple as is sometimes made out.

"Over fifteen centuries of Christian history give the lie to those American preachers who are accustomed to identify Christianity and democracy. . . . . Most modern Christians are not democrats. We should not speak, consequently, of the 'Christian' basis for democracy, *tout court*. We cannot even speak of the 'Protestant' basis for democracy. We must enquire with some care . . . ." (p. 17).

And he proceeds to inquire with very great care, concluding that it is one particular strain within Protestantism which is historically and apparently inevitably associated with democracy, that "Christianity as it is understood in the Puritan tradition . . . has democratic implications that it is very difficult to evade."

The sequence of the discussion is quite straightforward. Its extraordinary value is in its comprehensiveness and its precision. But he turns up some significant paradoxes; as for example that

"The two religious bodies which have done most to secure 'the rights of man' are those two which really cared least about individual liberty, and made the largest inroads upon private life whenever they obtained the supremacy—the Roman Catholic Church and the Presbyterian" (p. 20, quoting J. N. Figgis).

Civil liberties were largely won by those who cared little for them, but much for the existence and integrity of their own religious group. (Truth riding into history on the back of error? Justice on the back of injustice?) As to how this assessment of the historic contribution of Catholicism and Presbyterianism is reconciled with the book's main thesis, that is a long and complex story, which is told with great clarity.

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Then for those who care greatly for church unity and for an end to schism, there is the warning that "atheism has progressed in the modern west in inverse proportion to schism" (p. 61). It will not do to manufacture schism for the sake of avoiding atheism, but God can use even the schisms of this world: and the fact is that in England, for example, the sects gave men a standing-ground from which they could contend against clericalism *as Christians.* This option was not open in Catholic lands.

One of the most fascinating sections in the book is the examination of liberal Catholicism (a courageous and persistent tradition of which Protestants know too little, and which Dr. Nichols describes knowledgably and sympathetically) and the reactions of the hierarchy. This involves a careful study of the various attempts of the Papacy to reject democracy both political and economic, and then to make an

adjustment to it which was at once necessary (if the Roman Catholic Church was not to play Canute's role) and impossible (since the Papacy is committed to an ecclesiology and sociology radically inconsistent with the assumptions which make democracy possible). There are some illuminating examples of the contradictions in which the hierarchy is involved. To achieve the Church's ends they must send their people into political and public life, but

a. they must keep their directives somewhat under wraps, lest they embarrass an unsophisticated laity which is often in its bones more democratic than it is Catholic.

b. They can encourage Catholic Action only at the price of exposing their laity to contact with and contamination by democratic assumptions, which are the ordinary stuff of political discussion in the Protestant lands where Catholic Action is most urgent.

There are some popular (Al Smith) and some theological (Jacques Maritain) examples of Catholic confusion at this point. The instance of Al Smith is probably more familiar to Americans than it was to this reviewer, but one cannot resist quoting:

"When publicly challenged in *The Atlantic Monthly* as to how he reconciled responsibility to the American Constitution with obedience to the Syllabus [of Pius IX] Al Smith replied that he had not read the Syllabus and was not responsible to it. He is reported, in fact, to have turned to his political advisers in some perplexity: 'What the hell *is* an "enkiklika"?' " (p. 102).

The fact that such an attitude is probably widely representative of Catholic laymen in public life is partly reassuring, partly sinister, depending probably on whether one takes a short or a long view.

Developments in western Protestantism over the last two generations come in for review, from the social gospel to the more recent pronouncements of the ecumenical movement. The Frontier Fellowship is identified and commended on p. 233.

The books gives cohesion and illumination to an inchoate piece of history. One has no inclination and little competence to raise historical questions about it. Theological questions are not Dr. Nichols' prime concern, but his book raises one or two of great importance without, as it seems to me, providing even the beginnings of an answer. For example, the sympathy of the Roman hierarchy over the long years with authoritarian governments, and in recent years with Fascism: how far is this the reaction of an authoritarian church concerned for its prerogatives, and how far does it root back in a false doctrine of salvation (Nygren *contra* Augustine)? And when Dr. Nichols suggests that democracy can only survive in the presence of a church which recognizes a "neutral" area governed by "some kind of confessionally neutral moral law" (p. 272) on which Puritans and deists can unite (as in the American Constitution), does he mean the rational standards rationally perceived of the old natural law theorists, or does his avoidance of the term "natural law" mean that there is a new formulation to be sought here?

ALEXANDER MILLER

PROTESTANT THOUGHT IN THE TWENTIETH CENTURY. *Edited by Arnold S. Nash.* New York: Macmillan, 1951. 297 pp. $3.75.

Those who are closely in touch with the Frontier Fellowship are aware that our movement is, in one sense, part of a general revival of theological concern in European and American Protestantism. We are also aware that the same general movement also includes elements which have little in common with our social concern, while some aspects which seem to reflect the same emphasis because of their use of a similar vocabulary are actually opposed to what we really believe.

Arnold S. Nash, a professor at the University of North Carolina, has tried to capture the spirit of the general movement in American Protestantism in a symposium volume, in which he and twelve associated authors deal with various aspects of the life

of the Church. Each essay—one is the product of two authors—is by a specialist in some particular field of scholarship. One of the co-authors, John Bennett, is a member of this Fellowship.

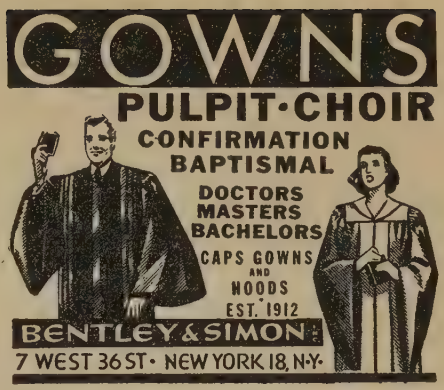
Dr. Nash's prospectus and the essay which he himself has contributed by way of introduction reflect an understanding of the connection of theological and social concern such as this Fellowship stands for. Our point of view is certainly given—as far as part of an essay can give it—in the article written by Dr. Bennett.

The result of Dr. Nash's general effort is an interesting but very uneven volume. The several essays deal in turn with Old Testament scholarship, New Testament, the philosophy of religion, systematic theology, Christian ethics, Church history, pastoral care, preaching, religious education, the ecumenical movement, and the missionary situation. Dr. Nash has provided a general frame of reference which most of his associates accept.

While it is obviously an over-simplification as stated, and not too much is done in a good many of the essays to relate the change of emphasis to the historical tensions which they reflect, Dr. Nash's thesis is a relatively adequate description of a general trend.

The close of the 19th century saw a reaction against the traditional synthesis of Calvinism and revivalism, the so-called New England religion which in varying modified forms dominated Protestantism in the United States. The reaction was based first upon German idealistic philosophy and then upon the extension of the empirical method, first to the social sciences and then to religion. The result was liberal theology with its optimistic view of human nature, its expectancy of a Christian social order to be built by men of good will, and its faith chiefly in an immanent deity.

The experience of two world wars and a world depression, together with the influence of the Continental theologians, has led to a widespread feeling that this liberal optimism is naive. Today, according to Dr. Nash and most of his colleagues, a new synthesis is being made of the traditional insights of orthodox Christianity, tested by the canon of relevance to the social situation, and a chastened liberalism which is still loyal to its scientific outlook.



This is the scheme of the book, and as far as it goes it is a good one. But unfortunately the authors never fully agreed as to what they were writing nor for whom. The thesis is clearly expounded by Dr. Nash. Walter Marshall Horton gives it a clear statement in his essay on systematic theology, which is a good example of his combination of eclecticism and feeling for the changing scene. Dr. John A. Mackay's treatment of the theme with reference to the missionary situation is very interesting. Dr. Bennett and Prof. Waldo Beach have given us the best essay in the book.

The articles on the Bible and the one on Church history were apparently written solely for the readers of technical theological quarterlies. They have a very full treatment of the subject against a very narrow background. This is too bad, because the subjects are important, but not in the form of annotated catalogues of all the literature in the field.

Dr. Seward Hiltner never understood the theme of the book, because he is plainly opposed to it, without either understanding it or showing that he realizes the function of theology at all. Dr. Shelton Smith—in the important field of religious education

—engages in such a wrestling match against the liberal tradition in his field that he never states his own position affirmatively.

Dr. Henry Smith Leiper has contributed an article on the history and general viewpoint of the ecumenical movement which is not clearly articulated into the general scheme. Dr. Charles W. Gilkey has written a kindly but not very incisive article on sermons.

Here is a book of limited value, although of an originally good design, which in a limited way describes the general religious stage upon which our Fellowship operates. There is some recognition in several of the articles of the work of both Reinhold Niebuhr and Paul Tillich, written sympathetically and appreciatively. It is too bad that the cutting edge of modern Protestantism is not more adequately understood in the book as a whole.

CHARLES D. KEAN

LIBERAL LEARNING AND RELIGION. *Edited by Amos N. Wilder.* New York: Harper and Brothers. 1951. $3.75.

Those who are interested in religion in higher education, and desire to understand both the philosophy and working skills through which a Christian impact may be made in this field will find this book a veritable gold mine. Here in one volume a company of independent thinkers, united by a common concern for the place of religion in the college, addresses itself with clarity and conviction to the very specific problem of fostering religion in the life and curriculum of the academic world. As a symposium the book is more profitable to read than it is easy to review—since the various contributions are sufficiently significant to each require careful study and sufficiently numerous to turn any series of comments about each one into a mere catalog of superficial observations.

Members of the Frontier Fellowship will no doubt be especially interested in (and sympathetic to) Roger Shinn's contribution, "Religious Faith and the Task of the Historian," but Edwin Aubrey's "Scientia, Scientific Method, and Religion" and Dean Walter Muelder's "Norms and Valuations in Social Science," even though (or perhaps particularly because) written from somewhat different theological outlooks, will commend themselves to our attention.

Individuals whose special vocational responsibilities involve teaching in college situations will find the volume rewarding, not only in the philosophical material mentioned above, but in practical chapters, like Virginia Corwin's "The Teaching of Religion" and Dean Sperry's "Worship in an Academic Community." In other chapters, lying perhaps mid-way between the philosophical consideration of the academic curriculum and the practical operations carried on in behalf of religion in the academic community, such matters as religion and democracy, academic freedom, and the relevance of psychotherapy receive careful attention.

In following the activities of the National Council on Religion in Higher Education "afar-off," as most of us do, this volume will be of great help. It is a more immediately fruitful expression of the Council's real concern and interest than was *The Vitality of the Christian Tradition.* As such it constitutes another of the media by which the Council is increasingly serving needs of individuals beyond its own constituency, and in this we may all rejoice. It is, however, in this regard that this reviewer's main uneasiness develops. The final chapter of the book by Patrick Murphy Malin, "The National Council on Religion in Higher Education" is written in an intimate, personal style held over from its original use—and address to the Fellows of the Council. A family loyalty and inside perspective are evident throughout which at a few places, despite reserved taste and commendable frankness, would serve better for domestic consumption than for export.

EDWARD LEROY LONG, JR.

FAITH AND DUTY. *By N. H. G. Robinson.* New York: Harpers, 1951. x and 150 pp., $2.00.

Faith and Duty is a book which certainly merits attention, for it is a quite detailed analysis of various contemporary doctrines of man and sin, with a view to resolving the dilemma of how man can be held responsible for his sin if he is inevitably corrupt. With meticulous care (on a guess, this book was originally a thesis) the author analyzes the thought of Barth, Brunner and Niebuhr, on the relationship of sin and responsibility, and although he finds increasing sympathy with these men in the order just named, he still feels that none of them gives a satisfactory answer to the question under discussion. This does not mean, however, that the author is to be dismissed as a "naive liberal", for he next turns his exegetical eye upon those who make primarily an ethical, rather than a theological, approach to the problem, and raises trenchant criticisms about the views of such men as A. E. Taylor, and, in particular, F. R. Tennant. In this section also, H. D. Lewis (author of a somewhat moralistic attack upon neo-orthodoxy called *Morals and the New Theology*) who is often cited by Robinson in his dismissal of Barth, Brunner and Niebuhr, comes in for some rough treatment himself.

Members of the Frontier Fellowship will probably be most interested in Robinson's treatment of Dr. Niebuhr, who comes off the most easily of the three orthodox thinkers examined, but who yet emerges as something of a villain. Robinson's basic misgiving about Niebuhr's thought is what he styles "the fallacy of unreal separation" (p. 80). He is in sympathy with many of Niebuhr's insights into the human situation, but finds himself unable to fit them consistently into Niebuhr's presuppositions, which he therefore proceeds to call into question. An instance of this unreal separation is the distinction between "a structure and its corresponding virtue or perfection" (p. 78). Another instance is found in the breaking up of the perfection of human nature into natural and original justice. (Some modifications of these positions will be found in Niebuhr's *Faith and History,* which Robinson does not include in his analysis.) Whatever validity these points may have, however, is somewhat vitiated by Robinson's contention that lurking behind them in Niebuhr's thought is a "separation in man of nature and spirit, of body and soul" (p. 82). If there is anything which, to this reviewer at least, seems foreign to and inconsistent with Niebuhr's thought, it is the charge that he falls into the trap of Greek dualism, of splitting up man into body and spirit, a position which he so consistently and clearly demolishes on almost every occasion, in the process of championing the alternative Biblical view of the unity of man's total personality.

Robinson's own view seeks to underline the fact of man's sin, and yet at the same time protect this viewpoint against the charge of total corruption (which he, rather curiously, seems to feel is implicit in the positions of Barth, Brunner and Niebuhr, pp. 23–56, and p. 70), so that a sense of responsibility for sin can be maintained. He works this out in a quite creative way by suggesting that it is in the context of *faith,* rather than empirical observation, that we know that we are sinners. The radical nature of the cure, effected in our salvation on the Cross of Christ, shows us the radical nature of the disease with which we are infected. In this he brings to mind some of the most illuminating insights of P. T. Forsyth about the cross. The author goes on to develop the implications of this for the retention of a realistic view both of the enormity of our sin and yet our responsibility for it.

He is thus to be congratulated for not only tearing down, but also for attempting to build up, although, as John Baillie rather archly remarks in his introduction, "It will be for his readers to judge for themselves how far he has succeeded" (p. vii). The book is not easy reading, and yet it is a worthwhile exercise for those who rest too complacently in their orthodoxy—or their liberalism.

ROBERT McAFEE BROWN

THE CHRISTIAN IN POLITICS. *By Jerry Voorhis.* New York: Association Press, 1951, 136 pp. $1.75.

One cannot read ex-Congressman Voorhis' book without feeling that he is being addressed by an honest and sincere liberal Christian whose integrity and courage inspire confidence. Especially impressive are those sections of the volume which draw directly on Mr. Voorhis' own experience in political life. The ambiguity of choices, the necessity of compromise, the manifold areas of political responsibility, the techniques of ethically sound and yet successful campaigning—all of these topics and many more are covered with a wealth of vivid, concrete illustration. The message which is hammered home again and again is that by and large Christian citizens have sidestepped their political responsibilities, and that the time has come when political activity (not only in terms of voting but also in terms of officeholding) must be accepted as a fundamental Christian duty.

Unfortunately, the author's practical wisdom far outstrips his theological framework. The relationship of Christian faith to political life remains vague. After summing up the basic belief of Christianity under the Fatherhood of God and the brotherhood of man, Mr. Voorhis goes on to state that "the central demand of our religion upon us is that we share life with our fellow-men" (p. 13), and he introduces love as the bond between people which draws them together and enables them to understand and to work with one another. But he does not explore the relationship of love to justice in such a way as to make clear that (1) faith is not complete unless it includes the basic insight that in political life the demand of love is justice, and that (2) love is not really Christian unless it impels us to enter responsibly into the struggle for social justice.

Mr. Voorhis certainly is no ordinary "do good-er." Yet the fact that he bases his appeal on what he takes to be common Christian presuppositions, without asking whether perhaps the theological understandings of many Christians must be modified before their faith will become politically relevant and dynamic, causes one to doubt whether his call to Christian political activity speaks to the condition of the college students who are his special audience.

CORNELIUS LOEW

A PSALM

Think of the poor dark sick ages of this world looking to them for life and light!

One belongs to the tribe which does not doubt its reason. His shrewdness is a caricature of wisdom. He is neither in the light nor does light shine forth from him.

The other belongs to the tribe which does not doubt its goodness. His virtue is a parody of saintliness. He compels neither fear from the children of darkness nor reverence from the children of light.

Each lacks the humility where wisdom and saintliness meet and mingle and can not be told apart.

But a shepherd of the Word spells out the matter faithfully. In dotting of a period preserves he ecstasy and trembling from harm.

Tender minister to truth's particular, pathetic need: yea, he understands sin in thunderous, empty promulgations, in lawless jungles of unmeaning, and in reason's most nice betrayal.

From his pen flow life and light. Under his obedient hand the living communication leaps up into garden and green meadow.

In waters of humility he bathes our self-inflicted wounds of deception, our burns of neighbor's hate, our sores of vanity's infection.

Out of his heart good life walks abroad each day. "What's old is new," he cries. "What's stale holds freshness of eternity!"

And all who hear rejoice and praise the Lord.

R. A. LANDOR

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